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Libyan-Cuban Competition for Influence in the Third World
A Background Paper for the DCI

In recent years Cuba and Libya have assisted groups or governments in some 43 Third World countries. For the most part Cuban and Libyan activities are mutually supportive, and Havana on occasion has even encouraged Third World governments and political groups to seek out Libyan assistance. [redacted]

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In Latin America, however, [redacted] Cuba is concerned that Libyan advocacy of militant tactics will disrupt its post-Grenada strategy of counseling moderation among regional leftists. While Cuba and Libya continue to provide complementary support to opposition groups in Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Guatemala, as well as to the Sandinista regime, friction has surfaced in the Caribbean. [redacted]

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Although Cuba in the past welcomed additional sources of financial support, there are indications that Havana has recently come to view Libyan activism in the Caribbean as meddling in its own backyard. Havana probably fears that violent anti-US activity in the region could be seen in Washington as Cuban-inspired, thus prompting a strong US response.

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In Africa, Libyan and Cuban activities mostly complement each other. Both countries, for example, are strong backers of the Ethiopian government and the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia.

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While there is little evidence that either side views the other as a direct competitor in the region, we believe the potential for competition exists in some countries:

- In Ethiopia, while Addis Ababa is confident of its longstanding Cuban military and economic assistance, it believes Libya may renew its support for Eritrean separatists.
- In Sudan, Tripoli is attempting to establish a state-to-state military assistance relationship

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Appendix A is a listing of the Third World countries where Libya and Cuba have since 1982 promised or provided Official Military Assistance, Official Economic Assistance (including scholarships to students), or engaged in Political Penetration activities (the promise or provision of arms, money or other forms of support to political groups, political parties, dissidents, or insurgents in that country).

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APPENDIX A

Cuba-Libya: Summary of Third World Aid Activities, 1983-Present*

	CUBA			LIBYA		
	Official Military <u>Assistance</u>	Official Economic <u>Assistance</u>	Political Penetra- tion	Official Military <u>Assistance</u>	Official Economic <u>Assistance</u>	Political Penetra- tion
LATIN AMERICA						
ANTIGUA			X			X
ARGENTINA			X			
BAHAMAS			X			X
BARBADOS			X			
BELIZE			X			
BOLIVIA	X		X			
BRAZIL			X			
CHILE			X			X
COLOMBIA			X			X
COSTA RICA			X			X
DOMINICA			X			X
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC			X			X
ECUADOR	X		X			
EL SALVADOR			X			X
FRENCH GUIANA			X			X
GRENADA			X			X
GAUDELOUPE			X			X
GUATEMALA			X			X
GUYANA	X	X	X		X	X
HAITI			X			
HONDURAS			X			
JAMAICA			X			
MARTINIQUE			X			X
MEXICO	X		X			X
NETH. ANTILLES			X			X
NICARAGUA	X	X	X	X	X	X
PANAMA			X			X

	<u>CUBA</u>			<u>LIBYA</u>		
	<u>Official Military Assistance</u>	<u>Official Economic Assistance</u>	<u>Political Penetra- tion</u>	<u>Official Military Assistance</u>	<u>Official Economic Assistance</u>	<u>Political Penetra- tion</u>
PERU			X			
PUERTO RICO			X			
ST. LUCIA			X			X
ST. VINCENT			X			X
SURINAME	X	X	X	X	X	
TRINIDAD & TOBAGO			X			X
URUGUAY			X			
VENEZUELA			X			
 NORTH AFRICA						
ALGERIA		X				X
MAURITANIA		X				X
MOROCO					X	X
TUNISIA					X	X
WESTERN SAHARA			X			
 SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA						
ANGOLA	X	X				
BENIN	X	X		X	X	
BOTSWANA		X				
BURKINA		X		X	X	
BURUNDI		X		X	X	
CAMEROON					X	X
CAPE VERDE	X	X				
C.A.R.						X
CHAD						X
CONGO	X	X			X	
EQUATORIAL GUINEA	X	X				
ETHIOPIA	X	X		X	X	X
GHANA	X	X	X	X	X	X
GUINEA	X	X				
GUINEA-BISSAU	X	X		X		

	<u>CUBA</u>			<u>LIBYA</u>		
	<u>Official Military Assistance</u>	<u>Official Economic Assistance</u>	<u>Political Penetra- tion</u>	<u>Official Military Assistance</u>	<u>Official Economic Assistance</u>	<u>Political Penetra- tion</u>
KENYA						X
LESOTHO				X		X
MADAGASCAR		X				
MALAWI						X
MALI		X			X	
MAURITIUS						X
MOZAMBIQUE	X	X		X		
NAMIBIA			X			X
NIGER						X
NIGERIA		X				X
RWANDA		X				
SAO TOME PRINCIPE	X	X				
SEYCHELLES	X	X		X		
SIERRA LEONE	X					X
SOMALIA					X	X
SOUTH AFRICA			X			X
SUDAN			X	X	X	X
TANZANIA	X	X				
UGANDA		X		X		X
ZAIRE		X				X
ZAMBIA		X				
ZIMBABWE		X				
EAST ASIA						
MALAYSIA						X
PHILIPPINES						X
THAILAND						X
EUROPE						
MALTA				X	X	X
MIDDLE EAST						
BAHRAIN		X				

	<u>CUBA</u>			<u>LIBYA</u>		
	<u>Official Military Assistance</u>	<u>Official Economic Assistance</u>	<u>Political Penetra- tion</u>	<u>Official Military Assistance</u>	<u>Official Economic Assistance</u>	<u>Political Penetra- tion</u>
CYPRUS						X
IRAQ		X				X
JORDAN		X				
LEBANON						X
OMAN			X			X
NORTH YEMEN					X	X
SOUTH YEMEN		X			X	X
SYRIA				X	X	
TURKEY						X
U.A.E.						X
 SOUTH ASIA						
AFGHANISTAN	X	X				
BANGLADESH						X
NEPAL		X				
PAKISTAN		X				

*Excludes countries in which Cuban and/or Libyan involvement is minimal.

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26 July 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for Intelligence
FROM: Director of Central Intelligence
SUBJECT: Libyan and Cuban Foreign Aid

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In addition, it points up
that Cuba and Libya may well be competing for influence in the region.

2. I would like to have our best summary, by country, of the nature
and extent of both Libyan and Cuban aid to countries throughout Latin
America. This should denote all forms of assistance, whether granted or
promised, known or suspected, etc. This should be coordinated with the
DO.

3. At the same time, I would like to have comparable information for
countries elsewhere in the world where both Cuba and Libya are involved.

William J. Casey

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